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Maintaining personal cleanliness was very difficult indeed. Not only did the villagers have to contend with the problem of carrying water but also with the lack of privacy in their crowded dwellings. One peasant said: 515

"We have no public bathhouse in our village, so only the wealthier people can take baths, because they are able to go to the nearby villages two or three times during the summer and make use of the mineral baths. In general, we do not bathe in fall, winter, or spring. If we bathe in the summer at home, we use a wooden tub and warm water. Sometimes when the weather is warm, men and women [of course, separately] bathe in the river. When the women are bathing there must be someone to guard against their being seen by others. Regularly at least once a week we wash our heads with soap and hot water, and also wash our faces and hands in the morning, but not necessarily with soap. No, we do not wash our hands before every meal, nor do we ever wash our teeth."

Throughout Bulgaria it was a common courtesy to say to a friend who had just emerged from a bath, *"Chestito banya"* or "Congratulations on your bath." However, if one dreamed of bathing, the villager would tell him that some trouble, perhaps death, was imminent. [787]

I was surprised to find that some of the poorest homes had electricity. The occupants explained: 373

"Oh, we find electricity cheaper than petroleum lamps provided we use small electric bulbs. Those who do not have electricity in their homes know of this advantage but have never saved up enough money to put in the wires."

And there they sat on a winter's night: the older women doing fine, closely stitched embroidery, the girls knitting, and the man perhaps reading a newspaper. The only illumination in the whole room, except for the flicker of the fire in the sheet metal stove, was a fly-specked twenty-watt bulb swinging from the ceiling. 512 373

The two or three large kettles hanging over or resting on the floor beside the stove, the knife and fork rack on the wall, and the few pottery dishes stacked on the kneading trough called my attention to the peasant's food habits. This was the way the people described their diet: 415 262

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birth receives a guardian angel, the soul of the deceased after leaving this world starts first to visit all the people and places where it has been when on this earth. This journey, no matter how great the distance may be, must be completed in forty days. If the departed has lived most of his time in his village, and only occasionally has gone to neighboring towns or villages, the journey will be an easy and pleasant one, but if he has traveled great distances the journey will be tiring and rough. It may be that this belief has been responsible for keeping the peasants so firmly attached to their land and village, and preventing them from migrating to new lands. . . .

"The soul has started on its journey, while the body is still in the house, being mourned by the family and the neighbors. The members of the family throw grains of corn or wheat into the coffin. They also believe that there is a great river to be passed and if the deceased has no money he will be unable to cross, and his journey will be impeded. Another peculiar belief is that the neighbors send through him messages to their departed, firmly believing that he will deliver them."

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Investigation showed that these statements held true generally of Dragalevtsy but needed to be supplemented. For one thing, the villagers had definite ways of foretelling death. They said, for instance, that there were as many stars in the sky as there were people on earth, and that there was a particular star for each person. When a star fell to the ground, someone was said to have died and his star to have gone out like his soul. If the star merely moved from one place to another, then its particular earthly representative had changed his residence. Many peasants also believed that "stars with tails" (meteors) foretold some great misfortune to be sent by God. Usually they were thought to signify war "because before the Balkan War and the World War there were such." But there were even more specific ways of predicting death in any given locality. When the owls cried at sunset toward a house or when a hen crowed, death was sure to follow soon. Certain dreams indicated the coming of death. Bai Angel, the village registrar, told me that a soldier could be practically certain of death if he dreamed of a snake. He supported this belief with the story of an officer in the first World War who lined up his men before a battle and went down the ranks to shake hands with

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763 the soldiers and told them that he would not return from the fight. He
● 787 was sure of this because he had dreamed of a snake during the night. Sure enough, he was killed in the action that followed.

If a person dreamed of a wedding or that he was leading a *horo*, death was probable; or if he dreamed of having a tooth pulled, the same held true. If he dreamed that he saw a deep black hole (similar to a grave), someone connected with him would die; if it was white inside, somebody else would die; if he fell into the hole, he would die.

764 In Dragalevtsy there were certain old women who considered themselves specialists in the preparation of the body for burial. They were "priestesses of superstition" who saw to it that all the pagan rites were carried out before the priest arrived to conduct the funeral. Their presence at any crisis showed the duality of the peasants' view of the universe.

771 God was thought to be the force symbolizing the Good. The
793 priest was His representative and should be given due respect; furthermore, he should be asked to perform all of the customary ceremonies such as the sprinkling of holy water in every room of the house at Bogoyavlenie or Epiphany on the nineteenth of January. Keeping on the good side of the priest meant keeping on the good side of God, whose favors one needs both in this life and the next.

[771] Inasmuch as they believed in a principle of Good at work in the
754 universe, it was logical for the peasants to believe in a principle of Evil which could do them harm, with or without the consent of the Good. Some parts of the church ceremonies, such as spitting over the child at the devil during the christening, were directed at nullifying the efforts of the Evil One. Seeing that the church concerned itself chiefly with the Good, the peasant in his naivete felt compelled to do something to ward off the Evil, and thus perpetuated many primitive customs which startle both educated Bulgarians and those westerners who are not familiar with the equally primitive customs found within certain areas of their own supposedly civilized lands.

754 The intermediaries in this "cult of the Evil Eye, Devil, Bad Luck"
789 were certain old women, called *babi*, already described in the account of a village birth.[1] These women showed people how to keep the Evil Eye away. They advised mothers whose babies were only one

[1] [See pp. 30-31, category 116-- Analyst]

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was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more.

I spent many hours in the fields chatting with these women. There was a hypnotic rhythm of sound and color in their work as the line of black-clad bodies, and white headcloths, swayed forward together through the thin green blades. In the high altitude everything was sharply defined: the red-roofed village two miles away, the puffs of white cloud infinitely high in the blue, the strong harsh peasant voices close by. While the women worked they sang old folk songs about beautiful heroines and the brave Krali Marko, a legendary Balkan hero who carried out prodigious feats against the Turks, or of peasant girls knitting gay stockings for village boys. The songs were usually romantic and often were cheerful in theme; but now and then one was moved by a haunting sadness deeper even than that of the Negro work songs. Hour after hour I used to hear the unhappy music rise in its bizarre cadence; day after day for three weeks the corn was hoed in one field after another. Week after week the sun beat down on Vitosha and the Sofia plain, while summer burned itself away. The corn grew waist high, then shoulder high, and finally yielded the golden ears to the strong brown fists of some boy or girl at the autumn cornhusking *sedenki.*

Early July was the haying season. Each sunrise would find most of the villagers out in the fields. Some of the men with their sharp scythes cut the hay in even swaths, letting it lie as it fell, to dry in the parching sun. Others would load the cured hay onto the wagons fitted out with ladderlike sides. As the wagons rolled through the village streets they were greeted by the little children who had had to stay at home with their aged grandparents or great-grandparents. The haystacks, whether left in the field or dressed near the house, were weighted down by lines to which heavy stones had been attached.

One could not be with the peasants long at haying time, or indeed at any other time, without sensing their feeling of close dependence upon the weather. In fact, I soon found myself sharing this feeling, although I remained somewhat dubious of the infallibility of the signs by which they "read the weather." They believed, for example,

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787 821 that it would rain if the crows bathed in the river, if the sun set or rose behind a cloud or was surrounded by a circle, or if the oxen dug the earth with their horns in the springtime. When the moon was surrounded by a dark circle, the weather would supposedly change to rain if it was summer and to snow if winter. Rain would also follow if the stars shone brightly, the sky was red in the morning, or the middle part of Vitosha was foggy. But the surest sign of bad weather was the sight of pigs carrying straw to the sty at sunset. Yet good weather alone did not ensure good crops. The human element was of utmost importance.

464 241 Bulgaria had, according to prewar figures, the largest labor supply per decare in Europe, with 5.8 workers available for 100 decares (25 acres) of land. Italy came next with 4.7, then Poland with 4.3, but Great Britain had only 0.7. In spite of such a surplus of labor the people had not begun to cultivate intensively. An increasing number of young people therefore had to seek a living from sources off the farm. Such intensive cultivation, however, would require radical changes in farming practices. Not more than thirty Dragalevtsy families saved liquid fertilizer, although the rest did haul wagonload after wagonload of manure from the stables to the fields late in the winter to be dumped in piles awaiting later spreading. There was very little harrowing, and what was done took place in the spring after the rains.

243 The cornfields were plowed under at once after the harvest and were immediately sown with grain. If the field had produced *smes*, the stubble was plowed under to lie fallow for one or two years. The fallow fields were plowed once in the spring, once in the middle of the summer, and again in the autumn just before the grain was to be sown.

What might be considered a Bulgarian counterpart of our Thanksgiving feast occurred at the time of this fall sowing of grain. Early in the morning the woman arose quietly to bake one large and two small loaves of bread, and to catch a young rooster which she handed over to her husband just before he was ready to start to the field in the oxcart. What followed was the observance of a pagan fertility rite. With the dignity of a priest performing an ancient sacrifice, the

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

spirits. It will also be noted that these names include a number of animal names.[1]

Any attempt to discover a primal relationship between these categories or the initial reason for the adoption of animal names, would, of course, be so much waste of time if the investigation is confined to one linguistic area. In the examples that follow there will be found ample evidence of

[1] The following are names of the various kinds of supernatural beings, any of which may cause disease or harm. The greater number of these words also signify specific diseases. Even *plašnja* and *strava* may mean personal forces or beings. *Smlata*, which is generally nothing more than *Hexenschluss*, and often has ceased to have any connection with witchcraft, also means a witch or *mora*. Note that the names of supernatural beings, of the witch or fairy order, also occur as names of professional magicians and witch doctors (*viljenak, vilovnjak, vještnik, vještica, brodnik, brodnica, vila, vračarica, bajalica, baharica, madžionica*, etc.); i.e. these can be either human beings or supernatural beings. Note that some of them are generally referred to in the plural.

Beštija, brodnica, coprnja (ica), čuma, čumica (pl. *čumice*), *duh, loš duh, zao duh, izdat, izdajnica, jude, kamenice, okameni, okamenica, kuga, krivo oko, karan, karakandžeri, krvopilica, kratelj, skrat, skrata, kosac, kudlak, vukdolak, lisa, lune, leptir, netopir, vampir, lumpir, vampirčići, ljutice, mora, tmora, pomora, muravini, mekarine, mame, mamica* (pl. *mamice*), *mlamusi, matić, medivančići, nastrijelice, nastrelina, namerice, namet, nametnice, nežid, nežit, naprasnik, naprasnica, nahud, nahudnica, hudnici, nažurenice, žura, žuravice, nastrijelina, naletnice, noćnice, noćni osjen* (*sjen*), *senka, nečestivi, nečastivi, nečisnjak, nepomenica, ogram, ogramnica, otrovnica, prožđreljevica, poganica* (pl. *-e*), *plašnja, uplah, polegać, rusak, rusa, ruse, rusalje, roške, stuhe, stihiji, sekarine, striga, sekarice, slute, sklopci, strava, strašnice, strijelica, sihir, strelka, ustrijel, šejtan, sotona, saturnica, tentacija, talasam, tenćac, utvar* (pl. *-i, -e*), *vila, samovila, samodiva, vještica, vile otrovnice, vrag, vražići, vražalica, vada, povada, vadine, urok, uročica, uročići, vadika, vražalica, viruške, uljezina, urama, uramnica, vlas, vlasi* (*ovi*), *vihor, vihorice, usadi, usov, zmet, zmaj, zduhovi, stuhe*, etc. Note the variations of meaning such as *činilica*, a witch, a charm worker, an evil spirit, a mental disease; *lahus*, a lying-in woman; *lahusi*, spirits that attack her or her child, an illness (also *kokošite lahusi*, a disease of fowls); *babice* is the usual Serbian word for this series, and also means diarrhoea. In Bulgarian we also find *ermenki* (a kind of evil spirit) which can also be equivalent to *urimice*, spirits which foretell the fortune of a new-born child; *usov*, a sheep disease, as well as a spirit; *ustrel*, a spirit, in particular a spirit which attacks sheep, or the spirit of an unchristened child, a vampire and so on, also a disease without reference to the agency of spirits; *čumice* are the children, *čuma*, plague; *bolehčići* are disease-spirits collectively. (Šiškov, *Život na Bulgarite v Srednja Rodopa* (Plovdiv, 1886), p. 46.)

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Bulgaria EE1

The theme of a fiery and a watery *Urok* or 'eye' may represent the trace of some definite belief now obscured. Either this belief or the imagery has influenced diagnosis of *Urok*. When the patient's urine is watery in appearance iron is used for exorcising the disease, with this formula: '*Urok* has two eyes, one watery, one fiery. The old woman has been to the hills and she has dug three holes. Let the watery *Uroci* bathe there. Let them leave the sick man.' When the urine is reddish, the operator takes a bowl of water and wipes the eyes and head of the patient with two fingers, saying: '*Urok* has two eyes, one watery, the other fiery. Granny came at dawn to drive *Urok* into the hills. Where *Urok* supped let him not dine again. But let him go to the hills. I quench fire with water. To save the sick man from *Urok*.' The water is then thrown behind the door.[1] With this one may compare the following method of divination. The plant called *trava od izida* is dug up at evening and placed in a bowl of unbroken water. If the water is red the next morning the person concerned is suffering from witch-bite (*izid*) and he should drink the water. If the water is found to be clear and not red, he is evidently under a spell, and should not drink the water but try something else.

'Sleep went to sleep, but *Urok* did not sleep. If he slept in sleep he came to himself. Two eyes, two evil eyes (*dva uroka*). One watery, the other fiery. I took the watery one and poured water on the fiery one. Come, *uroci*, along the earth like waves along the corn and the waters and the green grass.'[2]

Such themes as these, with ceremonial bathings, etc., will be found throughout the territory and throughout the popular literature of charms, etc., even in some of the earliest sources.

A very curious diagnosis is quoted from Bulgaria. When a man gets a pain in the small of his back or loins, a muscular

[1] The formula '*Urok* has two eyes' is probably the most widely known charm both in tradition and in written sources. For the version given here cf. Zb. VII, p. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

B 755 787 strain after a physical effort, they take the yolk of an egg and put it on his back and move it about with one finger until the yolk breaks. That place is then known to be the real seat of the pain and is rubbed with egg and bound up for a day or so. Eggs are frequently used in divining, and for divining when preparing to dig for treasure. Dark spots in the yolk of the egg are significant, generally of evil. In Turkish magical literature I have found numberless uses for eggs.

S 152 609 521 Caution in identifying and fear of envy are deep-seated instincts. Ask a peasant how much land he has and his usual reply will be: '*We* have *about* so-and-so-many days' ploughing', usually under-estimating. Ask him how many head of cattle or how many sheep in his flock and he may look as though, were it not for his natural courtesy, he would answer: 'What business is that of yours?', and perhaps shrug his shoulders and add that he does not know. Vrčević noted, and I also have seen it, that the shepherds, when they count sheep, use a switch of hazel or cornel wood. It is as much caution as the often over-praised corporative sentiment that will make a man refer to anything in the plural: 'Your field?'—'Yes, ours.' 'You are digging?'—'We are.' Such is his manner. He may genuinely dislike anyone, stranger or neighbour, staring too much at his beasts, let alone admiring them. To a word of well-meant congratulation he may say: 'What harm have the poor beasts done to you for you to admire them? Go and admire your own backside.' Admiration (*čudjenje*) as well as envy (*zavist*) causes *urok*. An abundant crop, a tree that has borne exceptionally well, are regarded doubtfully. In these days of severe crisis in the villages, older men shake their heads over the bumper harvests of a few years back—nothing has gone well since. My mother when she used to laugh a great deal would say: 'There must be trouble coming for me.' It is children of particular beauty or goodness who are overlooked or shot by *vile*. The mountain shepherds of Hercegovina and elsewhere will not kill a horned ewe or a ram with peculiar horns, or they keep a goat amongst their sheep. The leader of the flock

S 152 754 777

S [825]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Slovenes EF7
Croats EF4
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

village. These ceremonies to the best of my knowledge survive in Northern Croatia, the Dalmatian hinterland, Slavonia, Macedonia, in Bulgaria and sporadically in Serbia, and that mainly in pastoral districts. It is now not usual that the fire on these occasions is new fire. Divining is practised; the aim seems to be mainly apotropaeic and often specifically relates to health, or to prevent magic, or the attacks of witches. The ashes of the fires are kept for medicine or to promote the fertility of animals. Not only do these ceremonies change their dates but there is a tendency to amalgamate rites in which fire takes a part. Some authorities are of the opinion that the various fire ceremonials are ultimately of the same origin. Arnaudov distinguished two main types: one that is cathartic, and one that is exorcismal in aim; and among the latter he classed the celebration of the summer solstice, which in his opinion has sometimes been transferred to the spring.[1]

Mannhardt adopted from Kuhn[2] the identity of the need fire with St John's fire and attributed the same motives to the Roman Palilia. Prof. Trojanović, who has recently published a valuable collection of fire ceremonies, seems to follow the same train of thought, and elaborates the theme 'fire circle = sun disc'. He has sought his parallels, however, in Vedic literature, which cannot possibly give us a prototype on account of its date. The most striking similarity in the Balkan and Indian ritual of new fire is the inspection of melted fat, which the domestic sacrificer in India was instructed to gaze upon, and to show to the other members of his family. In one passage the ghee is called 'thunder'—a term that I am unable to explain.[3] These passages, however, refer to sacrifices to Agni, and I am not sure that Trojanović is right in regarding need fires as sacrificial, although sacrifices occur sporadically. The Indian ritual further demands

[1] M. Arnaudov, *Spisanie na Bulg. Akademia na Naukite*, IV, p. 30.

[2] Cf. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 50, and Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I (1875–7), pp. 519, etc.

[3] E.g. *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, III, S.B.E. XXVI, pp. 106, 169.